

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01  
    INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
    USIA-06 BIB-01 EB-08 TRSE-00 DHA-02 /069 W  
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FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6724  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
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AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
USMISSION NATO  
AMCONSUL MUNICH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 WARSAW 1350

EO 11652GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, PLF  
SUBJ: NEW GUIDELINES FOR MEDIA CRITICISM IN POLAND

REF: A. 76 WARSAW 9617, B. 76 WARSAW 8644, C. 76 WARSAW 8844,  
D. GALBRAITH-JURASZ, ET AL MEMCON OF DECEMBER 8, 1976

1. SUMMARY: ZYCIE WARSZAWY AND TRYBUNA LUDU OF FEBRUARY 23  
CARRY REPORTS AND EXTENSIVE COMMENTARY ON A FEBRUARY 22  
RESOLUTION OF THE PZPR POLITBURO ON "...THE FURTHER  
IMPROVEMENT OF INFORMATION-JOURNALISTIC ACTIVITIES AND THE  
STRENGTHENING OF THE IDEOLOGICAL-EDUCATIONAL ROLE OF  
CRITICISM IN THE PRESS, RADIO, AND TELEVISION." THE  
RESOLUTION INVITES INCREASED MEDIA CRITICISM  
OF ALMOST THE ENTIRE RANGE OF POLISH ECONOMIC, INDUSTRIAL,  
AND GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITIES. IT ALSO REQUIRES THOSE INDIVIDUALS AND  
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ORGANIZATIONS WHICH ARE THE SUBJECTS OF REPORTERS' INQUIRIES  
TO HOLD NOTHING BACK AND TO RESPOND TO PRESS CRITICISM.  
ENCOURAGING A MAJOR, ALL-MEDIA OFFENSIVE IN "CONSTRUCTIVE  
CRITICISM," THE RESOLUTION IS AN IMPORTANT MOVE BY THE  
PZPR TO INCREASE PUBLIC AWARENESS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL  
PROBLEMS FACING POLAND. END SUMMARY.

2. WHILE ONLY A SUMMARY A SUMMARY OF THE RESOLUTION IS CARRIED IN THE PRESS, EXTENSIVE COMMENTARY GIVES A CLEAR PICTURE OF ITS CONTENT AND INTENT. THE EDIOLOGICAL PURITY OF THE POLITBURO'S DECISION TO OPEN THE "SYSTEM" TO PUBLIC CRITICISM IS EMPHASIZED IN A TRYBUNA LUDU COMMENTARY BY ANDRZEJ WASILKOWSKI ENTITLED "AN IMPORTANT INSTRUMENT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY." WASILKOWSKI NOTES THAT "...CRITICISM IS NOT A KIND OF INDIVIDUAL DIRECTION OF ACTION, BUT RATHER IS ONE OF THE BASIC ELEMENTS OF INFORMATIONAL AND JOURNALISTIC ACTIVITIES. IT MUST BE DEVOTED TO THE SAME GOALS AS ALL OTHER FORMS OF PROPAGANDA AND IDEOLOGICAL-EDUCATIONAL WORK. FROM THIS IS DERIVED THE PRIMARY POSTULATE OF THE CONSTRUCTIVE CHARACTER OF CRITICISM." CRITICISM MUST SERVE "...THE EFFECTIVE REALIZATION OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRATEGY OF THE PARTY-- HIGHER LIVING AND WORKING STANDARDS FOR THE NATIONS." WASILKOWSKI ALSO POINTS OUT THAT THE RESOLUTION LIMITS NEITHER "...THE PARAMETERS OF CRITICISM, NOR ITS BOLDNESS."

3. WASILKOWSKI WARNS THOSE WHO WOULD THWART JUST CRITICISM THAT THE RESOLUTION OBLIGATES INSTITUTIONS TO OPEN THEIR DOORS TO THE PRESS WITHOUT RESERVATION AND TO AVOID INAPPROPRIATE REACTIONS TO COMPLAINTS ON THE PART OF INDIVIDUALS, COLLECTIVES, AND INSTITUTIONS. HE CONCLUDES BY NOTING THAT THE RESOLUTION WAS INSPIRED BY "...THE DESIRE TO STRENGTHEN SOCIALIST SOCIAL RELATIONS AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE NATION, FOR INCREASING THE EFFECTIVENESS

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OF MANAGEMENT, WORK ORGANIZATIONS, AND WORK ITSELF...THIS RESOLUTION IS A BASIC ELEMENT OF WHAT COMRADE EDWARD GIEREK HAS CALLED LEARNING SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY. DEMOCRACY BASED, AMONG OTHER THINGS, ON POSITIVE, CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM AND ON A POSITIVE, CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD IT."

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P R 241521Z FEB 77  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6725  
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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
UFHNA/USMISSION NATO 866  
AMCONSUL MUNICH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 WARSAW 1350

ZYCIE WARSZAWY'S COMMENTARY BY A.W. WYS, ENTITLED "THE EFFICACY OF SOCIAL CRITICISM," IS MUCH LESS CONSERVATIVE IN TONE AND STRESSES THE IMPORTANCE THE PZPR ATTACHES TO "HONEST" JOURNALISTIC CRITICISM. WYS SAYS THE GOAL OF THE RESOLUTION IS TO INCREASE THE FLOW OF INFORMATION TO THE PUBLIC "CONCERNING THE MOST IMPORTANT MATTERS AND PROBLEMS OF OUR COUNTRY, THE PROPAGATION OF SOCIAL POSTULATES, AND THE PROPER USE OF THE INSTRUMENT OF SOCIAL CRITICISM IN JOURNALISTIC PUBLICATIONS". ALTHOUGH THE "CREATIVE ROLE" OF CRITICISM IS DIFFICULT TO EVALUATE, THE ARTICLE SAYS, "A LACK OF CRITICISM GIVES RISE TO EGOTISM AND SELF-SATISFACTION AND DOES NOT PREVENT HARMFULNESS AND WASTE."

5. SYS ALSO NOTES THAT THE RESOLUTION EMPHASIZES THE "...SIGNIFICANCE OF DEEPENING POLEMICS WITH VIEWS FOREIGN  
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TO SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY."

6. LIKE WASILKOWSKI, WYS WARNS THOSE WHO MAY BE THE SUBJECTS OF COMPLAINTS THAT THEY MUST COOPERATE, CITING THE EXPERIENCE OF SOME JOURNALISTS WITH "...VARIOUS INSTITUTIONS AND THEIR REPRESENTATIVES, ALL OF WHOM, UNFORTUNATELY, DO NOT REALIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ROLE OF PRESS CRITICISM." WYS EXTENDS HIS WARNING TO JOURNALISTS TO BE SURE OF THEIR FACTS. "THERE IS NOTHING WORSE THAN INFORMATION, ESPECIALLY CRITICISM, BASED ON FACTS WHICH...HAVE NOT BEEN CHECKED TO THE END." HE ALSO WARNS JOURNALISTS NOT TO INDULGE IN

GENERAL CRITICISM.

7. THE RESOLUTION, ACCORDING TO WYS, WILL BE DISCUSSED IN PROVINCIAL COMMITTEES AND PRESS-ORGANIZATION MEETINGS. WYS CONCLUDES HIS COMMENTARY: "THE POLITBURO HAS ANNOUNCED THAT IN THE SECOND HALF OF 1978 IT WILL HEAR REPORTS ON THE EXECUTION OF THE DECISIONS CONTAINED IN THE RESOLUTION. THIS SHOULD BE KEPT IN MIND..."

8. COMMENT: NOT ON A PAR WITH THE FIFTH PZPR PLENUM DECISIONS IN EARLY DECEMBER TO ENCOURAGE PRIVATE AGRICULTURE AND SMALL BUSINESS NOR WITH GIEREK'S OFFER ON FEBRUARY 3 OF A PARDON TO THOSE CONVICTED FOR RADOM AND URSUS PROTEST ACTIVITIES, THE POLITBURO RESOLUTION IS STILL SIGNIFICANT AND REPRESENTS A VICTORY FOR THOSE PARTY LEADERS WHO HAVE ARGUED THAT THE JUNE EVENTS COULD HAVE BEEN AVOIDED IF THERE HAD BEEN LESS CONTROL OVER THE MEDIA. THE RESOLUTION WAS HERALDED BY GIEREK AT THE FIFTH PLENUM WHEN HE ASSERTED THAT THERE MUST BE MORE HONEST INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO ALL ABOUT POLAND'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND THEREBY DOWNGRADED "GOOD-NEWS" PROPAGANDA. THE POLITBIURO RESOLUTION BY NO MEANS ELIMINATES CENSORSHIP, BUT IT PROBABLY WILL LEAD TO CRITICAL COVERAGE OF POLISH DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENTS, ESPECIALLY ECONOMIC. THE HAND OF PZPR SECRETARY STEFAN OLSZOWSKI IS PROBABLY BEHIND THIS  
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MAJOR PZPR INITIATIVE. ALMOST IMMEDIATELY AFTER HIS APPOINTMENT AS PARTY SECRETARY, INFORMED POLES PREDICTED TO US THAT OLSZOWSKI COULD NOT LONG IGNORE THE PROPAGANDA SIDE OF HIS ECONOMIC RESPONSIBILITIES. BY KEEPING THE PUBLIC BETTER INFORMED ON THE DAY TO DAY RUNNING OF THE COUNTRY, HE COULD GAIN BETTER UNDERSTANDING FOR THE PRICE INCREASES TO COME. END COMMENT.  
DAVIES

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## Message Attributes

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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009